

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 03706 01 OF 02 140812Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 /026 W

-----140815Z 128818 /12

P R 131352Z MAY 77
FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3278
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 3706

EXDIS/SALT

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR SECTION INFORMATION)

THE FOLLIWNG IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBAADOR WARNKE
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MAY 13, 1977.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARNKE - MAY 13, 1977

MR. MINISTER:

I

PRESIDENT CARTER, IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS AND ON
NUMEROUS OCCASIONS SUBSEQUENTLY, HAS REITERATED THE
COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE CONTROL OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS. TO THIS END, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PLACES
GREAT SIGNIFICANCE ON REACHING AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION
ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. IT IS WITH THAT
GOAL IN MIND THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION HAS RETURNED TO GENEVA.

I AM HONORED TO JOIN SUCH AN ENDEAVOR AND I LOOK
FOWARD TO HEADING THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION. I WOULD
LIKE TO INTRODUCE THE OTHER MEMBERS OF OUR DELEGATION.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 03706 01 OF 02 140812Z

ALREADY KNOWN TO YOU ARE AMBASSADOR RALPH EARLE,
LIEUTENTNAT GENERAL EDWARD ROWNY, AND MR. BORIS KLOSSON.
IN ADDITION, DR. GERALD JOHNSON, WHO HAS LONG EXPERIENCE
IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, HAS JOINTED THE DELEGATION.
AS YOU KNOW, AMBASSADOR EARLE IS THE ALTERNATE CHAIRMAN
OF THE UNITED STATES SALT DELEGATION AND WILL ACT WITH FULL
AUTHORITY IN MY ABSENCE.

II

DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS, OUR DELEGATIONS HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS TOWARD REACHING A NEW AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. WE HAVE DISCUSSED AND RESOLVED MANY OF THE ISSUES WHICH ARE IMPORTANT TO THE AGREEMENT. THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE REFLECTED IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT. HOWEVER, THERE ARE OTHER ISSUES WHICH ARE NOT YET RESOLVED, ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN USEFUL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE SIDES. THE U.S. BELIEVES THAT THE DELEGATIONS SHOULD RENEW THEIR EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THOSE QUESTIONS. THEY HAVE THEIR OWN IMPORTANCE AND MUST BE SETTLED REGARDLESS OF THE SPECIFIC LIMITATIONS OR OTHER DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT.

III

AMONG THE ISSUES WHICH WE BELIEVE CAN BE RESOLVED DURING THIS SESSION ARE THOSE RELATING TO: (1) DATA BASE; (2) MIRV VERIFICATION; AND (3) DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT.

THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED THAT THE SIDES AGREE ON THE NUMBERS, BY CATEGORY, OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS POSSESSED BY EACH SIDE AS OF THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT AND THAT NOTIFICATION OF CHANGES TO THESE NUMBERS BE GIVEN TWICE A YEAR IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION. IF AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED ON THIS PROPOSAL, THE UNITED STATES WOULD AGREE THAT DISMANTLING OR RESTRICTION OF EXCESS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 03706 01 OF 02 140812Z

ARMS BEGIN NOT LATER THAN THE EXPIRATION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND BE COMPLETED WITHIN CERTAIN SPECIFIC PERIODS OF TIME AFTER THAT DATE. IN ADDITION, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED THAT IT WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE APPROPRIATE CHANGES IN ITS PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE XVII OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT.

WITH AN AGREED DATA BASE, EACH SIDE, WHEN IT OBSERVES THE SYSTEMS OF THE OTHER BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, WILL BE MORE CONFIDENT THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE BEING APPLIED IN A UNIFORM MANNER BY BOTH SIDES.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 03706 02 OF 02 131515Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 /026 W

-----140547Z 102359 /12

P R 131352Z MAY 77
FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3279
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 3706

EXDIS/SALT

WITH REGARD TO THE VERIFICATION OF LAUNCHERS OF
MIRVED MISSILES, THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED IN
ARTICLE II THAT ANY ICBM OR SLBM WITH A BOOSTER OF A TYPE
THAT HAS BEEN FLIGHT-TESTED WITH MIRVS BE CONSIDERED A
MIRVED ICBM OR SLBM AND THAT, IF A LAUNCHER HAS CONTAINED
OR LAUNCHED AN ICBM OR SLBM EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, ALL
LAUNCHERS OF THAT TYPE WILL BE CONSIDERED TO HAVE BEEN
DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHINNG SUCH MISSILES.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT
MUST BE FORMULATED SO AS TO ENSURE THAT COMPLIANCE WITH ALL
OF ITS PROVISIONS CAN BE ADQUATELY VERIFIED. OUR PROPOSALS
FOR MIRV VERIFICATION ARE NECESSARY TO PROVIDE SUCH ASSURANCE.
WE NOTE THE PREVIOUS SOVIET STATEMENT CONCERNING THE LAUNCHERS
IN THE VICINITY OF DERAZHNYA AND PERVOMAYSK. THE UNCERTAINTIES
SURROUNDING THE DEPLOYMENTS AT THESE SITES NEED TO BE RESOLVED.

WITH REGARD TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE XVI, THE TWO
SIDES HAVE BEEN SEEKING TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH RESPECT TO
THE PROBLEMS OF DLIBERATE CONCEALMENT MASURES WHICH IMPEDE
VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY
STATED THE U.S. VIEW THAT VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH A

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 03706 02 OF 02 131515Z

NUMBER OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL DEPEND
ON MONITORING OF ACTIVITIES DURING THE TESTING PHASE. IN THIS
CONNECTION, THE UNITED STATES CANNOT AGREE TO THE SOVIET
PROPOSALD THAT CURRENT TESTING PRACTIVES BE EXEMPTED FROM
THE OBLIGATIONS OF THIS PARAGRAPH. SUCH AN EXEMPTION,
UNLIKE THOSE FOR CONSGRUCTION, ASSEMBLY, CONVERSION, OR
OVERHAUL PRACTICES, WOULD UNDERMINE THE VIABILITY OF THE

OBLIGATION NOT TO USE DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MASURES WHICH IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. WE HAVE NOTED CERTAIN CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES WHICH, IF CONTINUED, WOULD IMPEDE VERIFICATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. ONE EXAMPLE OF SUCH A PRACTICE INVOLVES CERTAIN MEASURES WHICH DELIBERATELY CONCEAL THE ASSOCIATION OF A NEW SOVIET ICBM WITH ITS LAUNCHER DURING TESTING; ANTOHER EXAMPLE INVOLVES CERTAIN SOVIET PRACTICES, INTRODUCED IN MAY 1974, WITH RESPECT TO THE METHODS OF TRANSMITTING TELEMETRIC INFORMATION. SUCH PRACTICES CANNOT BE EXEMPTED.

THE U.S. PROPOSAL ALSO INCLUDES AN OBLIGATION THAT EACH PARTY SHOULD USE ITS BEST EFFORTS TO AVOID MEASURES AND PRACTICES WHICH RESULT IN UNINTENTIONALLY IMPEDING VERIFICATION BY NATIONAAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

IV

THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS EXPRESSED A STRONG INTEREST IN THE ISSUES OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER AND HAS TABLED PROPOSALS IN THIS REGARD. THE UNITED STATES IS AWARE OF THE SOVIET CONCERNS, AND IS WILLING TO LISTEN TO FURTHER SOVIET EXPOSITION OF THESE ISSUES. HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTIONS OF NON-CIRCUMVENTIAON AND NON-TRANSFER CAN BE SETTLED IN A MEANINGFUL WAY ONLY AFTER OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT HAVE BEEN DETERMINED.

V

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 03706 02 OF 02 131515Z

THE UNITED STATES DELGATION WILL SEEK TO MAKE AS MUCH PROGRESS AS POSSIBLE ON ALL MATTERS NECESSARY TO COMPLETE THE AGREEMENT. WE LOOK FORWARD TO EXCHANGING VIEWS WITH THE SOVIET DELEGATTION ANDARE PREPRED TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY TOWARD THE RESOLUTION OF THE REMAINING QUESTIONS.WARNKE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), NEGOTIATIONS, SPEECHES, MEETING REPORTS, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, MEETING DELEGATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 13-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977SALTT03706
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DC PER 77 GENEVA 3854
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770204-0602, D770169-0386
Format: TEL
From: SALT TALKS JOINT
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770561/aaaacajp.tel
Line Count: 212
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 091a2a95-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2535090
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR WARNKE'S STATEMENT OF MAY 13, 1977 (SALT TWO-1172)
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, (WARNKE, PAUL C)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/091a2a95-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009